

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AGAIN ILLUSTRATED

GOOD NEWS FROM PACIFIC COAST

Adelbert M. Dewey Speaks at San Francisco
Under Auspices of Branch of the Social
Democratic Party—Big Audience
Listens Intently

FAVORS CARDINAL DOCTRINE OF SOCIALISM

We feel called upon this week to give prominence to an incident in the spread of Socialism in the United States which nearly all the capitalist papers are carefully ignoring, for the same reason that most of them studiously suppressed the news of Social Democratic successes in the fall elections—that is, to keep the masses of the people in ignorance of the fact that Socialism, finding expression in the field of practical politics, is gaining a foothold in this country; that the working classes are beginning to gather around the standard of the Social Democratic party. The incident reported below is significant, not so much because the new convert to Socialism is related to a public man of great prominence, but rather because the speaker himself is a man of marked ability and independence of character, whose attitude on the occasion referred to sets at rest any lingering doubts as to where he may be found in the struggle of the classes—the class which creates wealth and makes civilization and the class which appropriates wealth and controls civilization.

The comrades of Liberty Branch of the Social Democratic party at San Francisco, early in the fall, arranged a program of lectures extending through the winter months. It covers a great variety of subjects of public interest, and includes among the speakers, besides Socialists, many of the most widely known residents of San Francisco and vicinity. This program was being carried out in regular order, when, during the third week of December, one of our comrades discovered on the register of the Grand Hotel the name of Adelbert M. Dewey. Readers of The Herald will remember that some time ago mention was made of the fact that a member of the Dewey family, occupying a government position, and who had been investigating the Idaho outrage, in a public address, had declared himself a Socialist. When Mr. Dewey's presence in San Francisco was made known, the comrades of Liberty Branch sent him a cordial invitation to address a meeting. A courteous acceptance followed, and on the evening of Dec. 17 the branch hall at 117 Turk street was thronged with an eager audience, intent on listening to what a relative of Admiral Dewey (the San Francisco Examiner says Mr. Dewey is the Admiral's nephew) might have to say on the subject of Socialism.

The chairman of the branch, Comrade John M. Reynolds, presided, and the meeting opened with a musical prelude, participated in by Messrs. Frank Kerner and J. E. Scott and Mesdames Sandbeck, Teisson and Grant. Then Chairman Reynolds introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. Adelbert M. Dewey. He prefaced his address with the remark:

"After what the chairman has said, I am in doubt whether this big meeting has turned out to hear a member of the Dewey family or to hear a discussion of Socialism. However, I am not to blame that my father was named Dewey. His father had that name before him, and it goes back as far as we can ascertain. I suppose that somebody away back was fired out of some other family for doing something that he shouldn't, and he called himself Dewey."

For a full hour the speaker then held the closest attention of his audience while he gave his views on industrial conditions and Socialism. He was generously applauded from beginning to end.

Comrade John C. Wesley writes informing us that "it was one of the best meetings ever held in the city of San Francisco." The people were profoundly interested and gave the speaker frequent manifestations of sympathy with and approval of his remarks. They also listened intently to brief addresses which followed from Comrades Andre, Sorenson and Clemons, and when the meeting closed a large amount of Socialist literature, including a bundle of *Heralds*, with news of the Social Democratic elections in Massachusetts, was sold.

The San Francisco Examiner on the following day gave a partial report of Mr. Dewey's address. Of the man personally the Examiner said: "Mr. Dewey is a large, heavily built man, with a beard that is something of the Gen. Grant style, and he is apparently about 50 years of age. He is a pronounced Socialist, an ardent advocate of government ownership of public utilities, and he urges that a city should not only own its street railroads, but should run them without charging any fare whatever."

One feature of the meeting, concerning which the Examiner had nothing to say, but which will have more interest for Social Democrats than anything else, was Mr. Dewey's reply to a question put by Comrade Mark Bartlett. The speaker gracefully submitted to the custom common to Socialist meetings and answered numerous questions from the audience. Comrade Bartlett asked: "Do you believe in the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution by the whole people?" "The answer came direct," says Comrade Wesley, "I certainly and most emphatically do."

Below will be found a few extracts from Comrade Dewey's address:

"Why should the tailor go in rags?"

"Why should the farmer, who feeds the world, go hungry?"

"Why should the printer, who makes books, go without a library?"

"The disease is in the system and it must be cured."

"There is no brotherhood among men under the competitive system."

"I have become a firm believer in national co-operation—in Socialism."

"I am willing to devote my life to this work for the benefit of mankind."

"I would like to see some city try the plan of running street cars absolutely free."

"What would you think of a public building without a free elevator?"

PROGRESS IN THE FEDERATION

This year's convention of the American Federation of Labor was marked by a partial change of front and a step in the direction of Socialism. The committee on resolutions reported for adoption the following:

"The president makes some very timely and truthful observations, and your committee agrees in his opinion that the trust should be considered by the labor movement as a natural outcome of the present keen competition in commercial activity. The evil influence resulting from concentrated capital can only be met by fully realizing that the state cannot successfully legislate against this so-called 'growing evil.' It is, therefore, manifestly the duty of the state, as well as of the labor movement, to meet this situation and to treat the subject as a natural development. The trust is an industrial disease which can only be alleviated and finally cured by remedies taken from the industrial garden. Organizations of labor, free from all anti-combination laws, given full freedom to use its own natural weapons, and the thoughtful and earnest support of all lovers of industrial freedom, will meet this evil and overcome it in the natural evolutionary way. We therefore ask from the legislator, not anti-combination laws, but the sweeping away of those now extant, to the end that the trust may not have at its command the judicial, executive and military of the political state machinery."

In the discussion which followed its introduction, Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland offered this amendment:

"And, furthermore, that this convention call upon the trade unionists of the United States, and workmen generally, to carefully study the development of trusts and monopolies, with a view to nationalizing the same."

The amendment was almost unanimously adopted and the resolutions, as amended, adopted.

Emil Dierl, one of the writers on the staff of *Vorwarts*, has just died (Dec. 5, 1899). He was born on Dec. 11, 1829, at Munich. He first was a workman, but at the age of 19 he became an actor, playing under the name of Roland, and acted in many theaters of South Germany. He joined the Socialists about 1869, and was a delegate to the congresses at Stuttgart in 1870 and at Coburg in 1874. No man worked harder for the party when the oppressive laws against Socialism were in force. In 1892 he became a writer on the staff of *Vorwarts*, and soon made his mark by incisive writings and merciless sarcasm. In 1895, for some articles on the military spirit and the church, he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

The Social Democrats of Portugal have gained a great victory at Oporto, the largest industrial town in Portugal. At the elections there for the parliament they succeeded in electing their three candidates—Costa, Esteves and Falcao—by a majority of 3,500 votes. There was a great Democratic manifestation when the result was declared, and the police charged the people.

Socialists will do well not to be too elated at Sydney Olivier's appointment to a secretaryship in Jamaica. It does not by any means imply that Jamaica is to be brought under Socialist control. I congratulate Olivier, who is a very good fellow, and one of the best of the Fabians; but still he is a Fabian, after all, and they are a rather disappointing lot. —London Justice.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

YEAR AFTER YEAR

Year after year the blighting curse of gold

Has swept our land with pestilential breath,

While labor's host, with agony untold,
Sinks in the gloom of poverty and death.

The traces of its devastating course
Are seen in every hamlet of our land,
While blasted homes, which date to it
Their source,

Dread monuments of testimony stand,
No fiend incarnate, with the power of hell,

Could work such dire destruction half so well!

Year after year, with ruin in its train,
O'er all our land has swept this tidal wave;

Man's single will resists its power in vain,

And, failing, finds a dungeon or a grave.

The sweetest joys of home are turned to gall,

And family ties are broken and accursed,

While everywhere the curse of capital
Among hell's influences ranks the first.

Justice dethroned and manhood's vigor marred,
Man, robbed and ruined, from his rights is barred.

Year after year we've seen the work go on,

With feeblest efforts to overcome its sway,

And in the night but faintest signs of dawn

Proclaim the coming of the wished-for day.

The curse of greed, in spite of all we've done,

Still ravages, unchecked, this free-men's land;

The battle, fought for years, is yet unwon

By Socialism's scant and noble band;

The worker's cry for help still rings unheard,

And still his claims for justice are deferred.

Year after year! And what shall be the end?

Shall righteous law and justice ne'er prevail?

Shall all our stalwart efforts to defend
The happiness of home and loved ones fail?

Shall it be truly said, in future years,
That we, as voters, ne'er opposed the wrong,

But sacrificed the right to party fears,
Or, by negation, helped the curse grow strong?

No, no; it must not—shall not—thus be said—

That by our hands the serpent has been fed!

Year after year, until, with righteous might,

Our labor class o'erthrows all moneyed power;

When we, as voters, sternly seek the right,

The power of gold shall perish in that hour.

Why should we wait, when at our firm demand

Our country could be free from slavish chains?

What man would dare to question our command,

When we possess the governmental reins?

Then use the power that unto us is given,

And snap each link that greed and gold have riveted!

Year after year! Methinks the year has come

When time is ripe for action, and that now

The craven toiler who is dull or dumb
Deserves the stamp of Cain upon his brow!

The tide is turning! Now it laps the steps

Of Haverhill's and Brockton's city halls;

Already, rising from industrial depths,
It breaks, reverberant, on state-house walls!

With growing truth and optimistic cheer,

Can Socialists be wished "a glad New year."

Year after year! Think not the day has come

When the first beams of morning touch the skies;

Think not the voice of wrong is stricken dumb

Because our shouts of victory arise.

These triumphs are but presage of the war

Whose opening skirmish we have fought and won;

Long years of bitter conflict lie before,
That we must face ere yet our task be done.

But on! The frowning hills that block our way

Conceal the rising light of full-orbed day!

Year after year! Not always thus shall be

The plaint of labor on the New Year's eve;

Some day our cause shall win, and victory

Our shattered sorrows in the past shall leave.

Then love shall rule the actions of the world,

And justice give new promise to mankind;

Then Socialism's flag shall be unfurled,
And brotherhood all men in friendship bind.

Then, then, in all its beauty, shall appear

That sequel to the old—the newer year!

Merlin.

Debs on Injunction

Eugene V. Debs, in a letter to the editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, makes an appeal for workingmen. He refers to the imprisonment of John P. Reese, in the Ft. Scott (Kan.) jail. He says:

"A judicial hireling named Williams has perpetrated another outrage. He struck down his victim with a bludgeon called an injunction. Strange as it may seem to a Zulu, the victim lies in jail, while the assassin walks the streets a free man. How much longer will the workmen of America stand this sort of thing? Are they dead to every sentiment of liberty? Has the spirit of resistance been entirely crushed out of them? That a contemptible judge, the degenerate tool of a corporation, dare thus spit in their upturned faces is proof overwhelming of their abject slavery; otherwise such an outrage would arouse them like an electric shock. Were the workmen of Kansas and elsewhere in the faintest degree alive to their rights and interests not another tap of work should be done until John P. Reese is released and his vile assailant put in his place."

"Can anything be done? Yes. What is it? You can vote for Socialism and take possession of the mines in which you work, and that will end the wage slavery, and such contemptible creatures as Williams, with their sand-bagging injunctions, will disappear forever. Collective ownership is the only remedy. You have been voting against it and you are paying the penalty. You can vote for it and walk the streets free men. Private ownership and freedom—which? You alone can and must decide."

Division of Labor

Division of labor is the source of all fortunes. The only economical law which forms a parallel with a law of nature is that production can only become more productive and cheaper by division of labor. The law is, so to say, a social law of nature. A handful of individuals have appropriated this social law of nature and used it for their individual benefit; the masses are bound with the chains of the ever-increasing products of industry and virtually receive in return for their labor no more than the Indian did under favorable circumstances before civilization commenced. Just as well might these individuals appropriate the force of gravity, the power of steam and the warmth of the sun. They feed the people, as they oil their machines, to keep them in good working order, and the food of the people is only an item in the cost of production.—Lassalle.

Evolution of Class Struggle

This is the title of an interesting historical study by William H. Noyes, lately issued in a 5-cent booklet by Charles H. Kerr & Co. of Chicago. He shows that every important change through which society has passed has been caused by a struggle between opposing classes, and that today we are about to see the effects of a class struggle greater than any of those which have gone before. This booklet helps explain the recent developments in Germany, France and Belgium, and it suggests the likelihood of similar events near home at an early day. Send orders to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.

WHAT ARE WAGES AND HOW DETERMINED

MODERN WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL

How the Wage Worker Sells His Labor, a Commodity, to the Capitalist in Order to Live—His Life Spent for Bed and Board

TRANSLATED FROM KARL MARX BY J. T. JOYNE

If we were to ask the laborers, "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer"; another, "I get half a crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time, or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving an ell of cloth or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree—their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them; either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer buys their work for money. For money they sell their work to him. With the same sum for which the employer has bought their work—as, for instance, with a couple of shillings—he might have bought four pounds of sugar or a proportionate amount of any other wares. The two shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar are the price of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys labor for twelve hours are the price of twelve hours' work. Work is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more nor less, only they measure the former by the clock, the latter by the scales.

The laborers exchange their own commodity with their employers—work for money; and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so much work. For twelve hours' weaving, two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent two shillings worth of all other commodities? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity—work—with all kinds of other commodities, and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings, therefore, express the proportion in which his work is exchanged with other commodities—the exchange-value of his work; and the exchange-value of any commodity expressed in money is called its price. Wage is, therefore, only another name for the price of work—for the price of this peculiar piece of property which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say, for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a share in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided. Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or, in other words, for his work. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover even the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he has with another part of his property bought the raw material, the thread, and the instrument of labor, the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases—and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last is, of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has as little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

Wages, therefore, are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor.

Labor is, therefore, a commodity which its owner, the wage-worker, sells

(Continued on Fourth Page)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 30, 1899.

THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGERS

The Boston Advertiser is authority for the statement that the Democratic managers in Massachusetts express the opinion that the Social Democrats "will be found eventually supporting the Bryan movement." The managers say also that "if there should ever come a time when a Democratic candidate for governor would have a fair show of election, the Socialists would support a Democratic candidate" on the basis of "ownership of public utilities or something of that kind."

"Or something of that kind" is good. It reveals the chaotic condition of the Democratic mind. It shows how little the Socialist movement or the Social Democratic party is understood by the managers of the Democratic party in Massachusetts. What is true of the managers in that state applies equally to the Democratic managers of every state in the union. Being trimmers and traders themselves, having no principles, but only a great yearning for public office with a certain craft in keeping up the delusion with the people that they are the relentless foes of the Republican party and all that party stands for, they have no other conception of politics than that of common barter.

With lusty professions of love for the workingman and a great outcry against placing a crown of gold upon the brow of labor, these Democratic managers—Bryan's board of strategy—have never failed to prove themselves the pliant tools of the supreme rulers of this country, the capitalist class. The only president of the United States they have had since the war, who made Olney secretary of state, was an enemy of the working class. Governors of states (notably Steunenberg of Idaho) have been the truculent emissaries of capitalism, and the leaders of the party, its managers the country over, are inextricably involved in the very system which they feign to oppose, but which, for their own self-interest, they will inevitably uphold. Clark of Montana, who bought a seat in the United States senate, is a Democrat, too.

How shallow and false are the pretensions of the Democratic party to being the enemy of the Republican party, and how manifestly the party of Bryan is a creature of the existing economic system, ready to protect the interests of the dominant class, was made so clear in the recent election at Haverhill that nobody but a fool will any longer give credence to their professions. The Democratic managers at Haverhill, viewing with alarm the possible re-election of Mayor Chase, made common cause with the Republicans for the purpose, if possible, of compassing his defeat. And this was done with the knowledge and consent of the "board of strategy," which exists to hoodwink the people and sidetrack all really progressive movements. One of Mr. Bryan's confidential men, George Fred Williams, went to Haverhill, and, with full knowledge of the "trade" to beat the Socialists, told the latter that the "new Democracy" would give them all they (the Socialists) wanted.

The time will probably never come when a single Social Democrat in Massachusetts will be found supporting a Democrat for governor; it is certain that the Social Democratic party will find effective ways of dealing with such cases, should they arise, and that the party itself cannot be cajoled or turned away so much as the breadth of a hair from its specific mission by anything the Democratic managers may do.

The idea of Socialists supporting the Bryan Democracy is preposterous.

A GROWING PARTY

Owing to the recent victories of the Social-Democratic party in Massachusetts against the combined forces of Republican and Democratic capitalism, it is now established beyond a doubt that the Socialist programme has become a factor, and that it is gradually but surely receiving the indorsement of the most enlightened voters of the country.

Every additional vote cast for Socialist candidates for elective positions will bring to the minds of the Republican and Democratic parties that this new and growing plant, Socialism, is here to stay, and will use the ballot to destroy the system which they both love so well.

The political blindness of these two old Dromios is proverbial, and their

ignorance of economics, dishonesty and worship of the political economy of the dark ages, prevents them from knowing what to do.

With the Socialist his enlightenment teaches him that the evolutionary forces are here to stay and headed forward until the social revolution is accomplished. From day to day the development of industry strengthens his position, adds voters to his ranks and makes him conscious of the fact that the future life is to be a collective life—the only life in which man as a social product can complete the perfection of his individuality.

The indications now are that courage, tact, foresight and honesty of purpose are required of every member of the party, and that efforts toward placing men in position in small cities and manufacturing districts is much to be desired, so as to demonstrate the superiority of the scientific collective system over the present senseless, unscientific, haphazard system.

The weather last week in Chicago was everything that could be desired by the Christmas shoppers—and the department-store managers. The latter were especially fortunate in having the co-operation of the weather clerk; they report that never before did they have such a constant rush of customers. The people, taking advantage of the fine days, crowded the department stores from morning till night, eagerly availing themselves of the low prices for holiday supplies. But among the thousands of small retailers in the outside districts there was weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. The little merchants had laid in holiday stocks, decorated their windows and offered the best inducements to their neighbors to spend their money with the "legitimate trader," but they waited in vain for customers—the weather and the big store were against them. Now they are all wondering what they will do with the goods that never sold and many of them are on the verge of bankruptcy.

A lot of the biggest corporations in Chicago were accidentally presented with a Christmas gift which all of them must have appreciated very highly. By "accident," the Pullman Company, with a capital of \$54,000,000, escaped taxation. The market value of Pullman stock is \$121,500,000, and it pays no taxes! The Chicago Auditorium Association, capital \$2,000,000, also escaped by "accident." The Chicago Title and Trust Company, having a capital of \$1,500,000, was passed by. On all the capital stock of the hundreds of corporations in this great city a rotten board of equalization found a valuation of only \$1,500,000. But since that sort of thing is just what the people like—the sons of our great American patriots, who are running the corporations, are fully justified in letting them have it that way.

Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, beginning with the January number, is to be adapted more closely to the wants of the general public. The price has been lowered to 25 cents, and the topics discussed are to be given a broader range. The philosophy of science, which has heretofore been a prominent feature of the magazine, is to give place to the facts and principles that apply directly to the concerns of everyday life.

A third feature of the new departure will be the employment of distinguished specialists as writers on their respective subjects, who are able to present their ideas in a form suited to the general reader, and whose names give what they have to say the stamp of accuracy and authority.

The Canadian and Michigan lecture tour of Comrade Debs was exceedingly successful. At almost every point the audiences were large and enthusiastic. The Canadian papers devoted columns to the lecturer and his work. London, Ont., was the exception. The audience there was small, to the disappointment of the Trades and Labor Council, under whose auspices the lecture was given. Next time it will be larger. The interest in Socialism is remarkable, and everywhere the people are coming our way.

The British South African Chartered Company is an agency for the spread of the gospel and Christian civilization. Everybody understands that! Cecil Rhodes is the ordained bishop of God for the extension of the kingdom of British capitalists. We all understand that, too! If any one is looking for the reign of "Peace on earth and good will to men," except through the success of the honest and holy traders of Britain, he should readjust his telescope; he is looking through the wrong end!

Branch 18, Brooklyn, will have a Christmas celebration at Loebelz's Maennerchor hall, 134 Wyckoff avenue, for which music and other entertainment will be provided. Admission is free and the committee in charge hopes to see a good turn-out.

Roberts of Utah, who supports three wives, will not be allowed to take his seat; but some who support two or three mistresses and only one wife, and already have seats, will be permitted to remain.

A TRIBUTE

While others are singing the praises
Of socialist majors who have won,
Of men we have sent to the state house,
And chaps whose careers have begun;
There's one who deserves our best tribute,
For work greater far, if unseen,
Whose steady, persistent endeavor
The source of our victory has been.

While speakers were stamping the country,
And writers were wielding the pen,
One brave little woman in Boston
Was doing the work of ten men.

In days when our forces were meagre,
When chances of winning were small,
Her spirit imbued us with courage,
Her confidence strengthened us all.

When questions of policy, rising
For different sets of comrades,
Her keen woman's wit solved the problem,
Her womanly tact saved the game.

She had the assignment of speakers,
With strength she could hardly afford,
And bless you, she moved them like checkers
Upon the political board.

Pursuing all day her vocation,
She sacrificed rest for the cause,
Defying the rules of old nature
To bring about socialist laws.

So sing, if you will, of your Carey,
MacCartney, and Coulter and Chase;
I sing of the one who has handled
The managing reins of the race.

So here's to the brave little woman
Whose courage made capital small,
Whose life was the life of our movement,
Our comrade beloved—Margaret Haile!

MERLIN.

CAPITALIST EXPANSION

E. Belfort Bax in London Justice

E. Belfort Bax, in London Justice. If the whole surface of the globe has first to be given over to Capitalism before Socialism is to have a chance, we of this generation—aye, and our children of the next—may as well throw up the sponge as a political party and cry "Kismet." Would that Social-Democrats would recognize that the great question of the day for Socialism is what is here pointed out—viz., the possibility of stopping the expansion of the capitalist system!

If the Social-Democracy of every country ought to be international in its policy—ought, that is, to look at things from the standpoint of progress toward Socialism rather than of national honor or interest—there is a special reason why the British Socialist should be not merely non-patriotic but anti-patriotic in the ordinary sense of that much-abused word. The Anglo-Saxon race is, par excellence, the chosen race of industrial and commercial capitalism, notwithstanding that Germany may be running it hard. It is more even than this. It is the one race that can colonize effectively from the point of view of capitalist exploitation. No other race can touch the British in this respect. The manipulation of barbaric and savage populations, and the utilization of their territories for industrial and commercial purposes, is undoubtedly a thing for which the Anglo-Saxon has a special gift. Hence for our objects he is the most dangerous foe. For this reason alone the Social-Democrat ought to view with dismay the expansion of Britain. I candidly confess that I should regard a Franco-German-Russian alliance for the purpose of crippling the power of Anglo-Saxondom as the best augury for the immediate future of Socialism. If the realization of the aim of Socialism is not to be relegated to the Greek Kalends, the British empire, as an empire, must be shattered. How and by whom, does not matter. The strengthening of the reactionary power that may do it means also the strengthening of the revolutionary elements that power hides within itself. Besides, political reaction may break down at any moment. But the economic forces by which Capitalism renews its youth, and which is gained pro tanto for the present system of society with every fresh addition to the pink on the map, cannot collapse except by a long and dreary process of exhaustion fraught with the direst human misery.

Let us remember the whole strength of capital, in all its forms, is now behind British jingoism. This island has for three generations been the center of the great industry and of the great commerce of the world market. It has now further become the headquarters of the great international finance. The huge power its position affords it gives pause to all other states, even when in combination, at the bare thought of attacking it—the colossal representative of the modern system. The secret feeling that, the might and prestige of Britain gone, the whole gigantic fabric of modern society may creak and tumble to its fall, makes them, in spite of national hatred and jealousy, to recoil, as the fourth century crowd at Alexandria recoiled before the thought of striking the first blow at the mighty Serapis, fearing that, Serapis fallen, heaven and earth would sink together into chaos. Social-Democrats should surely ponder these questions!

LEO TOLSTOI'S VIEWS

Translated for The Herald by P. P. Ayer

All the evils of our life seem to exist solely because they have existed for a long time, and because the men who commit these evils have never been able to learn not to commit them, for in reality they do not wish to commit them. All evils seem to have a reason quite independent from the conscience of men. As strange and as contradictory as this may seem, all men of our epoch detest the existing order which they uphold. The men themselves suffer, but seem to think it to be part of the universal order of things, and that this will not arrest the advancement of humanity, which they cheat themselves into believing is always progressing in spite of the increasing oppression. It suffices only to

compare the practical with the theoretical, to become afraid of the flagrant contradiction of the conditions of our existence and our conscience. Our life is a constant contradiction with all we know and with all we consider necessary and obligatory. This contradiction exists in our economical life, in our political life and in our international life. Men seek to hide the necessity, becoming more and more apparent, of a change in the existing order of things, but the problem of life, which keeps on developing and complicating itself without changing its direction, augments the contradictions and the sufferings of men and brings them to an extreme limit where they are compelled to stop. The true joys of life are those which need not be guaranteed by force, nor does the greatest consideration belong to him who has accumulated riches for himself to the detriment of others, but to the man who lives to serve his brothers. Instead of the national hatred with which we are inspired under the guise of patriotism, instead of this false glory attached to murder which we call war, it is necessary to teach to every one the horror of these nefarious schemes intended to separate the wage-workers from each other. When one thinks of human wrongs one is appalled at the punishment inflicted upon men by criminal laws. There is not a man with a heart who has not experienced a feeling of horror and repulsion of a simple recital of the guillotine, the knout or the scaffold. Our heart says, no executions; science says, no executions; evil cannot be suppressed by committing evil. Still we continue to consider tribunals as a Christian institution and the judges as Christians. What to do? It cannot be proven that the destruction of the actual organization would bring about social chaos and the return of humanity to barbarism. It cannot either be proven that men have become sufficiently wise and good to prefer pacific relations to hatred. One cannot prove by abstract reasoning either the one or the other of these theses. There is but one way to arrest evil, and that is to render good for evil to every one without distinction.—From Count Tolstoi; translated by P. P. Ayer.

FACES IN THE STREET

They lie, the men who tell us in a loud, decisive tone
That want is here a stranger and that misery's unknown;
For where the nearest suburb and the city proper meet
My window sill is level with the faces in the street—
Drifting past, drifting past,
To the beat of weary feet—
While I sorrow for the owners of those faces in the street.

And cause I have to sorrow, in a land so young and fair,
To see upon these faces stamped the look of Want and Care;
I look in vain for traces of the fresh and fair and sweet
In sallow, sunken faces that are drifting through the street—
Drifting on, drifting on,
To the scrape of restless feet;
I can sorrow for the owners of the faces in the street.

—London Mail.

Working-Class Party Essential

Socialism cannot come through the Democratic party, because that, principally, represents the middle class, who are trying to preserve their places in the social scheme by the aid of palliatives upon the present system. That party will try to inaugurate "reforms," as Mayor Quincy has done in Boston, to save the small business man from sinking in the quagmire of bankruptcy—reforms which, while placing certain benefits within the reach of the working class, still do not interfere with the subjection of labor to what has been called "the level of bare subsistence," and to the point where the perpetuity of the laborer is threatened. The middle class desires capitalism perpetuated because they believe the existence of their class depends upon it.

Socialism cannot come through the Republican party, because that party is the party of the capitalistic class, and they desire capitalism perpetuated because Socialism means the abolition of their class and class rule. The record of the Republican party everywhere is in line with that statement. As opposed to the working class interests those represented by the Republican and Democratic parties are really the same, as was exemplified in the late municipal election. Only circumstances are needed to expose their true identity.

Socialism can only come through the Social Democratic party, because that party represents the working class, whose historical mission is the abolition of class rule by obtaining control of the governmental functions in all departments.—Haverhill Social Democrat.

The Belgian national legislature has passed a law providing for proportional representation. Under the new system, Brussels, for instance, will elect seven Catholics, six Liberals, and five Socialists, instead of eighteen Catholics, as heretofore. The measure is looked upon as an effort to counteract Socialist propaganda.

IS SOCIALISM MATERIALISTIC

By James T. Van Rensselaer

It is simply useless to deny that most of the prevailing Socialism of the day is based on the frankest and most outspoken revolutionary materialism. At the same time many Socialists contend that their system is a necessary outcome of Christianity; that Socialism and Christianity are essential the one to the other, and that the ethics of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them. Socialism, they say, has its root in Christianity. They argue that every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teaching of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist, whatever be his hatred against all religions, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity. They point out that Socialism in reality springs from the sentiment of revolt produced by the sight of the contrast between the existing economic constitution of society and a certain Christian ideal of justice and equality. Finally, they declare that if Christianity were taught and understood, conformably to the spirit of its founder, the existing social organization could not last a day.

Still it should always be insisted upon that the basis of Socialism is economic, involving a fundamental change in the relation of labor to land and capital—a change which will largely effect production, but will entirely revolutionize the existing system of distribution. But while its basis is economic, I want you to keep in mind, as it has been well said, that "Socialism implies and carries with it a change in the political, ethical, technical and artistic arrangements and institutions of society which would constitute a revolution greater, probably, than has ever taken place in human history, greater than the transition from the ancient to the mediaeval world, or from the latter to the existing order of society."

If you grasp the full meaning of these words you should awaken to the fact that while the struggle for food is a basic necessity, still once food is provided the higher forms of pleasure and development have no relation to it whatsoever. You cannot build a vast and magnificent building without a foundation, but once the foundation is solidly laid the usefulness and beauty of the structure have nothing whatever to do with it. Let me give you another illustration. The utility of atmospheric air is inexpressible. We cannot live without it, for if deprived of it for the briefest term men die in agony. And yet how little do we think of the question of atmospheric air! And so, once there has been created a proper system of universal co-operative production and distribution, men will think just as little of the struggle for food as they now do of the question of atmospheric air.

Again, we must not forget that as morals are not the reflex of atmospheric air, no more are they the reflex of economic conditions. True, bad air probably tends to make bad morals, and so certainly does a bad economic system. But on the other hand good air and the best economic conditions have been known to produce bad morals. And so morality more nearly approaches the base of civilized life than many Socialists imagine.

And so we should try and clearly distinguish between the fundamental principle of the struggle for food and the general principle that the evolution of the whole man is the complement and corrective of all other forms of evolution. The world is a rational system which reaches its culminating manifestation in the life of man.

Here as elsewhere the beginning must be interpreted from the end—not the end from the beginning. This position has been very ably summed up by a distinguished writer when he says that "the whole mistake of naturalism has been to interpret nature from the standpoint of the atom—to study the machinery which drives this great moving world simply as machinery, forgetting that the ship has many passengers, or the passengers any captain, or the captain any course. It is as great a mistake, on the other hand, for the theologian to separate off the ship from the passengers as for the naturalist to separate off the passengers from the ship." * * * In his jealousy for that religion which seems to him higher than science, he removes at once the rational basis from religion and the legitimate crown from science, forgetting that in so doing he offers to the world an unnatural religion and an inhuman science. * * * Man, body, soul, spirit, are not only to be considered, but are first to be considered in any theory of the world. You cannot describe the life of kings or arrange their kingdoms from the cellar beneath the palace, for 'Art,' as Browning reminds us,

"Must fumble for the whole, once fixing on a part,
However poor, surpass the fragment and aspire
To reconstruct thereby the ultimate entire."

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AMONG THE BRANCHES

NOTICES OF BRANCH MEETINGS INSERTED FOR 20 CENTS PER MONTH.

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch (San Francisco) of the Social Democratic Party holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p.m. Admission free. Meetings for members every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership in this Branch, with advantages of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 2 cents per month. Apply to the Secretary, Jobo Wesley, 117 Turk street, San Francisco.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California St., Denver, Colo., 8 p.m. Thos. H. Olbbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mavor, Secretary, 1799 Washington St.

CONNECTICUT

Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 198 State Street, at 8 p.m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank St.

All readers of Social Democratic Herald are invited to attend meetings.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 254 Wentworth Ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Hobeman, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday at 2 p.m. at Nag's Hall, 333 2nd Island Ave. Secretary, Vasil Jalinak, 606 18th Island Ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at Jos. Dundras' place, 200 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 808 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 209 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1465 Fulton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sundays of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 13th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chlapacka, 41 Rubia St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Sunday in each month, at eight o'clock at Nag's Hall, 635 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street. Albin Getzler, 725 W. 18th street.

Branch 8, Chicago, meets at Lumbert's Hall, corner 8th and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwald's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public. Secretary, J. L. Timson, 25 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 211 W. German St., Secretary, Frank Mareck, 1408 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch 1, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springdale Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 2, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 23 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p.m. Open house. Public. Secretary, W. M. Timson, 25 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 3, Brockton, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business in Cullen's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank B. Walsh, No. 132 W. Elm Street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday 8 p.m. at 99 Chelsea St., Sec. Miss Jenny Segal, 99 Chelsea St., Sec.

Branch 11, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Secretary, J. A. McDonald, 108 West Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every 1st Sunday in new estate office of Fred Genswiler, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 23 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 1300 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. J. Stork, 1330 W. 9th St., Sec.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston St.

NEW YORK

Branch 19 (4th Assembly Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at 100 rooms of The Voice of Labor, 128 Grand St. Jacob Panken, 128 Division St., Org.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 2nd and 4th Fridays at 29 East Broadway. Secretary, A. Guyer, 29 East Broadway.

Branch 2, No. 21 New York (22nd Assembly District), meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 134 E. 6th St. L. Funcke, 239 E. 64th St., Sec.

Branch No. 4 (West Side Branch) meets second and fourth Thursdays of every month at their headquarters, 129 West 99th St., Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge Street, meets every 3rd Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 6, New York (22nd Assembly District), meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 228 E. 10th St.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wislitz's Hall, 6 E. Fourth street. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlman's Hall, 65 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p.m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p.m.

Branch No. 3, Ohio, meets every first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p.m. in Ohlman's Hall, No. 6 York Street. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, Ohio, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner Ninth and Plum streets, second and fourth Sundays in each month, at 2:30 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Secretary, J. Schneiderman, 251 Vine street.

Branch 1, Cincinnati, meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday, in Workingmen's Hall, 1115 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1114 Walnut St.

Branch 11 (German) Columbus, Ohio, Ed. Greiner, Secretary, 505 Mohawk street.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch 1, Erie, Pa., meets every Saturday at 8 o'clock at K. of L. Hall, 716 State Street. Chairman, Jas. Stein; Secretary, J. Elmer Parry, 119 Washington St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Sunday evening at 7:30 p.m. Punk Hall, South 15th and Josephine Sts. President, Wm. Smith, 24 Addison St. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 114 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Gowish) of Pennsylvania, meets every Friday at 8:15 South Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 2 to 9. J. Schor, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Federal Society Building, 55 State St. Secretary, J. L. Franz, 1114 Walnut St.

Branch 1, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Bergard's Hall on Pennsylvania Avenue. R. Schoen, S. 12th Street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown Streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 101 Twenty-fifth Street.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Siegel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard Street and 4th Avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 151 Windlake Avenue.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, Wis., meets the second Tuesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwärts," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterius Hall, 717 Center Street, at 8 p.m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p.m. sharp at No. 618 East Water Street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending March 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

New Branches

The new branches instituted at the close of the old year are as follows:

Covington, Ky.—Chairman, F. E. Seeds; vice-chairman, L. O. Kerkow; secretary, F. Lavanier; treasurer, J. C. Kiser; organizer, S. M. Phillips.

Portsmouth, Ohio—Chairman, Walter Bagby; vice-chairman, Henry Kugelman; secretary, W. C. Edwards; treasurer, Henry D. Adams; organizer, Peter Frank.

Chicago, Ill.—Chairman, Frank Bertunek; secretary, J. A. Ambroz; treasurer, John F. Florian; organizer, John Hrubec.

Kalamazoo, Mich.—Chairman, Dr. James McCall; vice-chairman, Charles Wood; secretary, William Benessi; treasurer, Jerry Van Werden; organizer, D. W. Shaw.

Hyde Park, Mass.—Chairman, W. J. Deagle; vice-chairman, Wm. Keane; secretary, Victor Schneider; treasurer, Thomas H. Logan; organizer, Patrick Mulhern.

Our friends throughout the country who have contemplated organization are now beginning to move in the right direction. We hope to report fifty new branches during the next thirty days.

HAVERTHILL CAMPAIGN FUND

The following amounts were received from Massachusetts branches and individual comrades as subscriptions to the Haverhill campaign fund:

Rockland, through Dr. Billings.	\$40.00
Fitchburg, through Dennis E. Moran	18.50
Lynn, through Ernest W. Timson	13.00
Middleboro, through A. H. Den-nett	7.60
Holyoke, through H. Schlichting	13.40
Amesbury, through Charles W. Greene	8.00
Whitman, through C. E. Lowell	9.20
New Bedford, through William Ohnesorge	5.00
Brewers' Union, Boston	10.00
Quincy, through Coffin	10.00
Abington, through George L. Tyler	1.00
Beverly, through William A. Foster	1.60
Branch 29, Boston, through A. C. Mendell	2.00
Branch 7, Boston, through Morris Jolles	21.00
Branch 7, Boston, through H. Sharoff	3.00
East Boston, through A. Segal	4.25
Branch 4, Boston, through H. Ehrismann	2.00
Chelsea, through A. B. Otkram	1.40
Branch 1, through Dr. Konikow	.50
Branch 1, through W. F. Dunlap	1.00
Everett, through Mrs. A. A. Bennett	5.00
Total	\$177.45
Margaret Haile, Secretary.	

Active Workers Called For

An exceedingly pleasant evening was spent at Long Island Business College on Tuesday, Dec. 5, where the Social Democratic party of Brooklyn held its first rally and entertainment, and received the joyful news from Massachusetts announcing the glorious victories achieved by our comrades in Haverhill and Brockton. An excellent musical program was rendered, which delighted the audience, and the recitations, "The Song of the Shirt" and "Awake," by Miss Levine, captivated them entirely.

Comrades Roney and Allman were the speakers, whose eloquent addresses were delivered in a clear, forcible manner, which I am sure opened the minds of many present who undoubtedly heard the truths of Socialism expounded for

the first time. We hope the seed has been sown in good ground and will bear abundant fruit in the near future.

The committee was very well pleased to see so many new faces present, many of whom we can confidently expect to become members of our party; also many who will come with us as they sufficiently develop and understand Socialism.

But one thing is to be regretted: that is the poor attendance of those who call themselves comrades and are affiliated with the Social Democratic party, and were it not for our friends and sympathizers we would have had a miserable meeting as far as numbers go.

As the meeting was called for two specific purposes; first for agitation, and second to raise money enough to open a permanent headquarters and establish a Socialist library and reading room, it was the important duty of every member in the borough to be present to help encourage the most active comrades and assist in obtaining that which is absolutely necessary for advancing the movement.

Instead of a profit we find a deficiency. As many of the comrades in Brooklyn need a re-awakening, I shall shout with all my might until every one of them worthy of the name of Social Democrat shall be one in spirit and activity as well as in name.

The Socialist movement has no use for drones; neither has the Brooklyn city central committee. Therefore, comrades, awake! Fall into line and do all that lies within your power as Socialists to educate your fellow men in the inevitable coming of Socialism.

Will the Brooklynites do it? Brooklyn, N. Y. Wm. Butcher.

NOTES FROM BOSTON

The official vote for Governor having been announced as 8,262, the committee in charge of the guessing contest, consisting of Comrades Konikow, McDonald, Mendell and Haile, met on Dec. 12 to ascertain who was entitled to the gold watch. It was found, upon a careful examination of the coupons, that Mr. Joseph Geysen, 19 Corning street, Boston, whose guess was 8,264, came nearest to the exact number, and the watch was therefore awarded to him and duly delivered. And, by the way, Mr. Geysen happens to be an S. L. P. man. One of our own members, Miss Ada D'Orsav, of Lynn, came within four votes of the right number. Over \$200 was realized for the state campaign fund from this source.

As secretary pro tem. of branch No. 1, I have the unpleasant duty of reporting the first case of expulsion of a member in Boston. Charges were duly brought against Comrade William Peel, a member of branch No. 1 since last June, for having taken out nomination papers for himself for the office of representative from the Seventh Suffolk District, filling them in, and procuring signatures, under the name of the Social Democratic party, without having been nominated as a candidate by the party; of having procured many of the signatures by misrepresenting the nature of the party, and of having declared his intention of accepting the proffered assistance of Republican politicians in his campaign, and of running, any way, if the party should refuse to indorse his candidacy. Mr. Peel did not put in an appearance or attempt to defend himself; and, the truth of the charges having been amply proved, Mr. Peel was forthwith expelled from the party by the unanimous vote of branch No. 1 of Massachusetts. This is only a sample of a danger we have to contend with, and had to be dealt with promptly.

A new branch was organized last Sunday in Roslindale, which is the Twenty-third ward of the city of Boston. This gives us seven branches in Boston. A movement is on foot in the city to get a branch in each of the eleven aldermatic districts, as our next goal. When that is accomplished, we will attempt the more ambitious undertaking of getting one in each of the twenty-five wards. But that is another story. The Roslindale branch starts out with seven charter members, every one of whom is an active and intelligent Socialist, and it will not be long before this new branch is one of the strongest in the city.

Comrade Frederick G. Strickland will speak in Willard Hall next Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. A big audience is expected and all comrades are urged to attend.

Branch No. 11 of Wisconsin requests the announcement made that a resolution has been adopted protesting against a change in the name of the party. This is an indorsement of the attitude of the state central committee of Wisconsin, reported in the Herald three weeks ago.

Branch No. 5 of Brooklyn adopted resolutions in favor of a union of Socialist parties and recommending that the national executive board of the S. D. P. send a fraternal delegate to the convention of anti-deleonites which will be held (probably at Rochester, N. Y.) Jan. 22, 1900.

During the Christian era 4,000,000,000 human beings have perished in war. Socialism is opposed to war.

OUR LETTER BOX

OPPOSED TO NEW PARTY

To the Editor of THE HERALD

Because of recent inquiry from some S. L. P. comrades, who may have imagined that I am in favor of union of any kind and with everybody at any time and place, I herewith give my individual reasons against any movement having for its object the starting of a new party, such as is proposed as a necessary condition for the union of the S. D. P. and the anti-DeLeon faction of the S. L. P.

We have the S. D. P., a promising, clear-cut Socialist party, with comparatively little personal strife among its members, and a party of a truly American stamp. Why should it jeopardize its political chances by starting on the above hazardous experiment? And by whom is this course proposed? By the Chicago anti-DeLeon section of the S. L. P., that has given but little assurance of practical, harmonious sense, after withholding from its own party due support and financial aid during a most serious crisis.

It is, besides, doubtful whether the majority of the anti-DeLeon S. L. P. will indorse the proposition of its Chicago section. In fact, I am informed by a New York leader of that S. L. P. wing that he is not in favor of the proposed new party, and would rather wait until DeLeon is vanquished.

It is my conviction that the Chicago proposition, even if indorsed by all of the 3,000 members of the anti-DeLeon faction of the S. L. P. in good standing, would not tend to a harmonious development of a united Socialist party. On the contrary, I believe that proposition would tend to the dissolution of the S. D. P. as a matter of course, and to grave complications, convulsions and mischief as a matter of probability. For this reason I am opposed to it. As matters now stand with the anti-DeLeon wing of the S. L. P. their party name and emblem will probably be conceded to the DeLeon clique, so that it must either commit the unpardonable blunder of starting a third party or join the promising organization of the S. D. P. I have not the least doubt that most of the clear-headed and true-hearted comrades of the anti-DeLeon S. L. P. will choose the latter road and assist the S. D. P. on its march to victory.

And as to those who are not yet sensible comrades, those who trifle about matters of little consequence when the most essential things need their attention—well, let them stand aside awhile and learn to know their duty.

E. Dietzgen.

Berlin, Dec. 3, 1899.

A POINT IN ORDER

To the Editor of THE HERALD

"Ha! this labor leader (Debs) is making a good thing out of his lectures!"—Captious Critic in Cleveland Citizen.

I rise to a point of order. Question: Why should it be more reprehensible to secure the means of subsistence by the application of one's capacities to worthy and noble ends, than to do the same thing by serving in an infamous system of greed and gamble?

It is time that the confused tongues of our common humanity pronounce for commensurate compensation for legitimate effort; time that worth should "cease to be an outcast and vagabond upon the earth"; time that endowment and honor should fall to the lot of the active and honorable; time that labor should emerge from the hypnotism of hell, which places demons on thrones and saints in slaughter-pens; bank credit to brigands, and billingsgate and bare floors to the heroes of a holy life.

Let the hilltops shout it,
And the valleys cry;
Things are for the makers;
Truth is not a lie.
Honor is for goodness,
Cheer is for the brave;
Darkness is for despots,
Hope is for the slave.
Waken, O, my comrades,
We are yet to stand
Valiant guards for justice,
Over sea and land.
Honor to the leader
Tried through many years,
Lifting up the banner
Bleached with bitter tears.
Angels still are guarding,
Light dawns on our ways;
We'll confirm the adage:
Honest labor pays.
Rev. Geneva Lake.
Olympia, Wash.

TIME TO GO SLOW

To the Editor of THE HERALD

To the Editor of the Herald: Comrade Abbott's letter in this week's Herald voices the sentiment of the membership, I am sure. We all believe in a union of Socialists in the abstract. We desire it very much. But when it comes to the concrete case of an actual joining together of the S. L. P. faction with our party, the head must join the heart in considering the manner and method of union. The details are important. Above all else, two things must be kept in view. One is that there must be no appearance before the country of the Socialists forming another new party. No change of name under any circumstances. If we engage in that sort of thing again we

will give the movement a black eye, and this, of all years, is not the time for that. Nor can we afford to lose the prestige of the recent victories in the east, as we would if the Social Democratic party were changed to some other party.

The other thing to be kept in view is that under no circumstances must DeLeonism be allowed to sneak into our midst. Those who join us must not come in with the idea of "reforming" us on this point. The spirit of DeLeonism has caused stagnation in the other party; we want none of it in ours. It is not to be expected that the split in the other party placed all the angels on one side and all the evil spirits on the other. If we get some of them through a union of forces, they must not come in the spirit of conquest. If such should be the case, disintegration would soon set in; we would have future internal strife—or worse. Prevention is better than cure. Now is the time to be careful. Yours fraternally,

Thomas C. P. Myers.

Milwaukee, Wis.

CLASS LEGISLATION

To the Editor of THE HERALD

I hear some people talk of legislation in favor of the whole people. Now, such legislation is impossible for the reason that society is split into two classes with conflicting interests, and legislation that helps one class will injure the other. Therefore, all legislation is necessarily class legislation. Anything that helps the working class is bound to injure the capitalist class; the higher the wages of the working class, the less is left for the capitalist class; the higher the profit of the capitalist class, the less is left for the working class; if the worker produce \$5 worth of wealth a day and the capitalist keeps \$4, there is only \$1 left for the worker; if the worker pushes up his wages and takes \$3, there is only \$2 left for the capitalist. A thing cannot be divided in two parts and increase one without decreasing the other.

The Social Democratic party stands for class legislation in favor of the working class; to take possession of the means of production and distribution, and thereby abolish the capitalist class. Then, and not till then, can anything be done for the whole people.

Terre Haute, Ind. C. E. Kingery.

NO ABANDONMENT OF NAME

To the Editor of THE HERALD

I am glad to see the strong movement on foot for a "united Socialist party." It presages grand results in the future, and all truly class-conscious Socialists must hail it with delight. The aims of both parties are the same—viz., international Socialism; and, tramping petty strifes and jealousies which should have no place in a Socialist party, there is no valid reason why they should not unite. As much, however, as I would like to see a united Socialist party, I would rather see it fail this time than to have our party tactics or name abandoned. I have the utmost confidence, however, in the wisdom and far-sightedness of our executive board, and I think the matter can, for the present at least, be left safely in their hands. And, while passing compliments, I want to give one to the editor for the splendid paper he is turning out. I get a good many Socialist and "reform" papers, but there is none that I hail with so much pleasure as The Herald, and none that I read so carefully. The Herald is the "best of all." Yours fraternally,
Evansville, Ind. C. W. Hewitt.

There will be a conference of the Social Reform Union held in Chicago this week. Saturday, Dec. 30, forenoon and afternoon sessions will be held in room 3, seventh floor of the Y. M. C. A. Building. Saturday evening, in Willard Hall, addresses will be delivered by Mayor S. M. Jones, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and Dr. Geo. D. Herron. Sunday, addresses in different churches and clubs. Sunday evening, mass meeting and watch-night meeting in the First Christian Church, Indiana avenue and Thirtieth street. Monday, 10 a. m., closing session, in room 3, Y. M. C. A. Building.

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Haverhill Social Democrat

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Social Democrat
25 Washington Street
Haverhill, Mass.

DAWN OF A NEW ERA

E. H. T. in Haverhill Social Democrat

The greatest event in the history of Haverhill has taken place. A choice between Socialism and wage slavery has been fairly and squarely offered to the people. The question has been asked them, Will you once again rebuke the old parties that stand for the enslavement of the working class, and give your voice for that party which is leading you on the road to the co-operative commonwealth? And the people of Haverhill answered Yes!

Let no man attempt to belittle this victory. It is not accidental; it was due to no chance. One year ago it was possible to say that Mayor Chase won because his enemies were divided and there were several tickets in the field. Today no such claim can be made. All the forces of Capitalism were lined up against them; Republicans and Democrats forgot their life-long feud and joined hands to strangle if possible this infant Socialist party, whose rapid growth fills them with such consternation. A great corporation poured out its money like water for the same end. Money can do almost anything, but let its masters know that it is utterly powerless before the march of a great idea.

Neither can this Socialist triumph be ascribed only to the popularity of our candidates. The citizens of Haverhill are justly proud of the men who have honored their city and their party by their spotless public lives. But no mere love and respect for any man or men can explain the intense fervor of this campaign. No candidate, however popular, could call forth the deep, earnest feeling which this election has inspired. Only ideas, only principles could do that. Men do not work as the Social Democrats have worked without pay or hope of reward, for any leader, however beloved he may be.

It has been a great crisis for Haverhill, but it has been something far more. The triumph of the Social Democratic party in our town has been an event of momentous issues for the whole country, and has marked the dawn of a new era in the history of the United States. Nothing like it has ever happened in America; never before has Socialism wrested a victory from the clenched hand of united Capitalism. Just as surely as this has been done, just so surely has the shadow of decay and death fallen upon both the old parties. It will never be forgotten that they are ready to throw to the winds all the issues which they profess to consider so vital and elasp hands to overthrow a party which stands for the emancipation of the wage slaves.

Both parties have received their death blow; although they may stagger on for some years, yet they will surely fall at last. They face the past, but we front the dawn.

One proof that this is not a merely local victory is the fact that a sister city has joined our march. Brockton is now in line with Haverhill; two Socialist towns will from this day on hold up the banner of the co-operative commonwealth in the van of the old Bay State. With Rockland, we now have three Socialistic centers from which the sparks of truth will fly in all directions till all Massachusetts is in a blaze.—E. H. T., in Haverhill Social Democrat.

WHAT ARE WAGES AND HOW DETERMINED

(Continued from First Page)

to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But labor is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party, in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but a means of insuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather is it a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves, nor the palace that he builds, nor the gold that he digs from out the mine. What he produces for himself is his wage; and silk, gold and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary, life begins for him exactly where this activity of his life ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as earnings whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage-worker.

A few copies of Prof. Herron's book, "Between Jesus and Caesar," remain on our shelves, and will be mailed to any address at 40 cents. You should read it if you have not done so.

CANADIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist movement is making very rapid progress in Canada and an organization called the Canadian Socialist League is organizing branches in various parts of the Dominion. Two organizations under this name were formed in Montreal and Toronto simultaneously last summer, and since then leagues have been formed in West Toronto and London. Leagues are also being formed in Hamilton, Ottawa, Kingston, Malton and other places throughout Ontario, as well as in Melbourne, Quebec, Golden, B. C., and other points. An organization called the Vancouver Socialists' Club has been formed in Vancouver, B. C., by a number of energetic Socialists, who have been members of the Socialist Labor party, but who have become disgusted with the tactics pursued by that organization. The Canadian Socialist League in Montreal is also composed chiefly of former members of the S. L. P., who realized that this organization could make no headway in Canada so long as the DeLeon policy was pursued. The secretary of the Montreal League, No. 1, is K. Smith, 715 Wellington street, Montreal, Que. Mr. Smith has been an active worker in the Independent Labor party in England and was formerly editor of the Commonwealth, a Montreal Socialist paper, published a year ago.

In Toronto two leagues have been formed. They are composed chiefly of former members of the Social Reform League and also include many former members of the S. L. P. They have adopted a short but comprehensive platform, as follows:

1. Abolition of the senate. The people to have the veto power by means of the initiative and referendum.
2. Adult suffrage and proportional representation, with grouped constituencies and abolition of municipal wards.
3. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, water works, electric light and power plants, etc.
4. Land nationalization, community-produced values to be used for public purposes; occupancy to be the only title to land.
5. A national currency and government banking system.
6. Public ownership of all monopolies and ultimately of all the means of production, distribution and exchange.
7. Abolition of patent laws. Government remuneration for inventors, with the aim in view of having labor-saving machinery introduced a shorter work day. Eight hours to constitute a day's labor on all public works.

The organizing secretary of the Toronto League, No. 2, is G. Weston Wrigley, 293 King street West, and this league is doing its utmost to urge the work of organization by the Socialist workers in the various centers throughout the Dominion. Its membership is rapidly nearing the 100 mark, and, as it comprises in its membership many of the oldest Socialist workers in Canada, its weekly series of meetings is proving of great educational value.

The plan of organizing branch leagues is of a broad character. At present the Socialist movement in Canada is necessarily of an educational nature, and the branch leagues are given full power to draft their own constitution and platform, providing, of course, that recognized Socialistic principles are adhered to.

The intention is that when fifteen or twenty leagues are formed in various parts of the country, a definite action will then be taken to organize a national organization and draft a national platform, either by convention or referendum vote of the members of the various leagues. The cast-iron rules and tactics of the S. L. P. have made Canadian Socialists very cautious regarding the formation of new organizations, and it is hoped that the plan outlined above will be the means of launching a broad Socialist movement in Canada. It is probable, however, that political action will not be taken until a national organization is formed.

The Cleveland Citizen (S. L. P.) has this to say of Comrade Debs: "Last Sunday afternoon Eugene V. Debs addressed an immense meeting in Toledo, fully 3,500 people being packed in Memorial Hall to listen to the well-known agitator. There are those who have had the idea pumped into them that Debs is not a class-conscious Socialist and does not understand and accept the class struggle, but such persons have been misled. In his two hours' address Debs showed clearly how the middle class is doomed, how the great capitalists are almost invulnerable as an economic power, and how the wage-workers, even in so-called prosperous times where they may receive higher wages, are still wage-slaves, which condition is bound to fluctuate in the planless capitalistic competitive system and become more unbearable as machinery is introduced and capital concentrates."

If you ordered the "Pocket Library of Socialism," complete, you would pay for it 50 cents cash. These booklets are all good, uniform in size and just what you would buy if you could see them. You can have the ten free by sending us five new subscribers to The Herald for one year at 50 cents each, or the equivalent in six months' subscriptions.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights. That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others, and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers, and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As we follow this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The abolition of all forms of involuntary public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. The abolition of all inventions to be made by the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by voters.
12. The abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

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ORGANIZE FOR 1900

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The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

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